

Israel's military advantage Top official fears sanctions after arms sales reports

ALON PINKAS

Israel's qualitative edge in the overall regional military balance could be adversely affected if the US limits its military sales, a very senior official warned last night.

He said the US may impose such limitations in response to the allegations that Israel has transferred American technology to third countries without authorization, thus compromising US political and economic interests.

The official expressed anger and frustration over allegations he described as "easily refutable."

"Some of the charges are nasty and ludicrous," he said, "but we are almost defenseless because the US says the sources providing the incriminating facts are intelligence sources and therefore classified."

Israel reported 'less than helpful' in Dotan probe

MICHAEL ROTTEM

The Defense Ministry has been less than helpful to an American delegation currently here to investigate the Rami Dotan affair, American law enforcement sources charged yesterday.

In response, ministry officials expressed suspicion that the visiting Americans are gathering data on the Mazlat affair, in which US officials were allegedly bribed to purchase Israeli drone aircraft, and accusations against General Electric employees who allegedly bribed high-ranking IAF officers.

Ministry spokesman Danny Weinreich, through his secretary, declined comment and referred all calls to the American Embassy.

Carl Chan, the embassy's press attache, said members of the delegation are under strict orders not to comment to the press. He himself made no comment.

fied. This is a situation in which we cannot defend ourselves because it is unclear what we are accused of."

The official asserted that Israel maintains very tight control over its military sales and technology transfers - "perhaps the best of their kind in the world" - but added that there are many countries with which Israel has no diplomatic relations but maintains a military relationship "without US knowledge."

"In the case of China, the military connection preceded and was the impetus for full diplomatic ties," he noted.

The official vehemently rejected the allegations which surfaced in US newspapers, and are believed to be excerpted from the draft of the report of State Department inspector-general Sherman Funk.

(Continued on Page 3)

US still hasn't sent annual aid package due here last month

ALLISON KAPLAN

WASHINGTON - Israel has not yet received the second installment of its annual aid package from the US, which was scheduled to be disbursed by the end of February.

Senior Bush administration officials have assured Israeli representatives the delay is due to technical and bureaucratic reasons, according to sources. Israelis have been told the delay has no relationship to the current political tensions between the two countries surrounding Israel's request for the loan guarantee, or the recent allegations regarding unauthorized Israeli transfer of US technology.

The sources, however, said there is growing concern that this is yet another sign of the cooling of the US-Israeli friendship.

This year is the first time that Israel has received its annual \$1.8 billion in aid.

Ministers: Ties being sabotaged

DAVID MAKOVSKY

The top levels of the Bush administration are trying to sabotage US-Israeli relations, cabinet ministers charged yesterday.

They slammed recent American media leaks about alleged Israeli re-exports of US military technology to third countries without permission. But other Israeli sources and people familiar with the workings of the State Department believe that mid-level bureaucratic infighting was to blame for the leaks.

The main media leak was reported in *The Wall Street Journal* on Friday. As a State Department spokesman would later confirm, department inspector-general Sherman Funk completed a draft report detailing how the US ignored intelligence

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The missile threat

IT now seems likely that the failure of the US navy to intercept the ships carrying North Korean missiles destined for Syria was intentional. It is difficult to believe that, with all the sophisticated devices at its disposal, the world's most powerful navy could have "lost" the vessels on their way to the Iranian port of Bandar Abbas.

Since seizing the ships would have been a violation of international law – which the US-government would have found difficult to justify – it is reasonable to conclude that the threats to board the vessels were more an exercise in psychological warfare aimed at turning them back than an expression of real intent.

But the wish of the US to see these ships return fully laden to North Korea is understandable. Though by no means the first such cargoes ordered by Syria since the Gulf war, the current shipments are more ominous; not only because they add a large number of missiles to the Syrian arsenal, but because they contain equipment and parts for the construction of missile-producing plants.

It is the prospect of independent Arab manufacture of medium-range missiles, whose production has been banned by the Soviet-US arms reduction agreements, which must give the West pause. The North Koreans are known to be committed to constructing advanced Scud assembly-lines in the radical Middle Eastern states – Libya, Syria and Iran – and in Egypt, which is already equipped to produce missiles. The projected plant in Libya is said to be capable of manufacturing Scud D missiles, whose range is more than 1,000 km.

Nor are the North Koreans the only ones involved in building these countries' military might. *New York Times* columnist William Safire, who was one of the first to warn of Iraq's development of nuclear weapons, believes that the Chinese, who are helping Iran rearm, are deeply involved in the construction of secret weapon plants in Syria. Chinese missile scientists, he states, are known to be making frequent trips to Syria.

Nor is the building of missile-manufacturing capability the only current Syrian preoccupation. Damascus is cementing its association with Iran, a country of immense resources in manpower and treasure, and it is bound to benefit from the fact that Iran is now devoting its considerable national energies to a huge military buildup and the development of nuclear capability.

One of the manifestations of this growing closeness is the planned transfer of the training camps of Ahmed Jibril's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine – General Com-

mand from Lebanon's Bekaa valley to Western Iran. Syria has been under Western pressure to expel Jibril. By moving his gangs to Iran it hopes to placate the West while retaining control over his activities the way Iran controls Hizbullah actions in Lebanon.

But Syria is also making friendly noises in the direction of Iraq, its traditional enemy. According to the London *Independent*, anti-Saddam Hussein propaganda has disappeared from Syria's airwaves, and Damascus is distancing itself from the Iraqi dissident groups it assiduously cultivated before and during the Gulf war. Syria is even examining the possibility of opening the oil pipeline from Iraq to the Mediterranean, which passes through Syria.

As Defense Minister Moshe Arens pointed out in a CNN interview over the weekend, Syria now possesses the fourth largest army in the world. The demise of its main sponsor, the Soviet Union, has led the West to assume that it would abandon the dream of achieving "strategic parity" with Israel – a euphemism for attacking Israel alone – and perhaps seek accommodation and peace.

But the opposite seems to be true. If anything, the end of the Soviet empire has only improved Syria's prospects of acquiring nuclear weapons. For while the centralized Soviet regime set limits to the kind of arms it would sell its satellites and clients, the CIS states seem to have no such compunctions.

Nor does Syria seem serious about peace. Its refusal to discuss in the bilateral talks anything but unconditional Israeli withdrawal, and its boycott of the multilateral talks on regional issues, can mean only that it is continuing to attend the peace talks merely to keep the West lulled.

To complement its military buildup, Syria is making undisguised diplomatic efforts to build a front of confrontation states against Israel. Whether Iraq will be in a position to join such a front in the near future is less relevant than the fact that both Iran and Libya are able and willing to do so, and that Saudi Arabia, which has financed Syria's missile purchases, is ready to support the endeavor.

What this means in terms of Israel's security is self-evident. But the US and the European governments, now as eager to court Hafez Assad as they were to curry favor with Saddam Hussein in 1990, may want to consider the implications of these developments for the West. For the first time, radical and fundamentalist regimes, already possessing biological and chemical warheads and soon to have nuclear weapons, will have the means to deliver them to the cities of Europe.

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OPINION

Monday, March 16, 1992 The Jerusalem Post

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Israel-bashing is good for business

Moshe Zak

SUDDENLY Israel has be-
 come an enemy, said Cardinal
 John O'Connor of New York.
 Lecturing at Fordham University, he
 warned that the growing acceptabil-
 ity of Israel-bashing is bound to en-
 danger Middle East stability and
 peace.

The cardinal said this even before
 the launching of the latest American
 media campaign against Israel which
 alleges that Israel is selling American
 arms secrets to other countries. The
 campaign only reinforces the cardin-
 al's assumption that the public bash-
 ing of Israel will destabilize the re-
 gion.

Many years ago, Prof. Alan Wein-
 stein published an article in the
Washington Quarterly which
 showed how administration officials
 deliberately leak information against
 Israel. The leaks, timed to occur on
 the eve of fateful decisions on mat-
 ters in dispute between Jerusalem
 and Washington, complement ex-
 traordinary pressures on Israel by
 softening US public support.

At the beginning of November
 1991, during the "honeymoon" fol-
 lowing the Madrid conference, I
 heard in Washington that the *Wall*
Street Journal was preparing a major
 investigative piece. It was directed
 against the Israel defense industries,
 particularly their expanded efforts to
 market products in the US and the
 rest of the world.

One can assume that the Ameri-
 can industries which were hurt by
 Israeli competition indeed

Israel, and it ignored the complaints.
 Now that tension between the two
 governments on the question of loan-
 guarantees has become a fact of life,
 the valve that blocked hostile publici-
 ty was opened.

The administration knows that Is-
 rael neither transferred Patriot mis-
 siles nor divulged their secrets to Chi-
 na. Israel is not enthusiastic about
 the performance of the Patriot, and
 has had no motive to work on copy-
 ing the model. In fact, two new Patri-

US companies find it difficult to accept that an Israeli plant wins a bid to sell mortars to the American army

or batteries were included in the spe-
 cial military assistance package of-
 fered Israel as compensation for
 damage suffered in the Gulf war, but
 Israel did not rush to accept them.
 Believing that the Patriot's cost ex-
 ceeds its utility, Israel preferred to
 receive other hardware, to the tune
 of \$160 million. It may well be that
 this Israeli refusal annoyed the
 Raytheon company, the Patriot's
 manufacturer. It knows that IDF ac-
 quisitions serve as good sales promo-
 tion for military products. Whatever
 the case, on this issue, Israel could
 immediately and unequivocally deny
 the accusation.

ISRAEL has scrupulously avoid-
 ed selling military equipment
 containing American parts with-
 out the required American permit.
 The marketing campaign of the Kfir
 jet fighters failed partly because the

purchase scores of planes from Isra-
 el.

Even when the rescuing of Jews
 was at stake, Israel was careful not to
 violate its agreement with the US. It
 flatly rejected the Ethiopian dicta-
 tor's demand for cluster bombs and
 other weapons of American manu-
 facture.

These things are known to the ad-
 ministration. But American compa-
 nies find it difficult to accept that an
 Israeli plant like Soflam wins a bid to

sell mortars to the American army,
 or that Tadiran wins a large contract
 to supply it with equipment. And it is
 particularly upset when an Israeli-
 made anti-tank missile or an air-to-
 air missile developed by Rafael is
 preferred by Taiwan or China.

Fighting fiercely over every mar-
 ket, these manufacturers complain to
 the administration that the Israelis
 created copies of American patents
 and sold them without permission. In
 the State Department all these un-
 proven complaints are compiled until
 they assume the shape of intelligence
 information.

Israel is then required to explain.
 Even before the commercial-indus-
 trial dispute is resolved, before it can
 be determined whether the charge of
 copying is correct or if the Israeli
 products are the results of original
 Israeli research and development, Is-
 rael is calumniated in the mind of the

world market.

Even if the administration did not
 initiate this campaign against Israel
 in the American media, it did not-
 ing to stop it in so critical a period in
 the peace process in the Middle East.
 "Israel-bashing," as Cardinal O'Con-
 nor put it, assists the administration
 in the dispute with the American
 Jewish leaders who are pressing for
 loan guarantees for Israel.

The Jewish leaders have now
 launched a public-relations campaign
 to assure the public that the loan
 guarantees will not cost the Ameri-
 can taxpayer one cent and will in fact
 provide employment. The stories
 about unfair Israeli competition
 against the American arms industry
 which deprives Americans of jobs
 serves as the administration's answer
 to the pressure of pro-Israel legisla-
 tors on the loan guarantees issue.

This reminds me of a report by the
 American military attache in the
 days of the War of Independence,
 charging Israel with supplying
 Czechoslovakia with a state-of-the-
 art American training plane, and
 even with transferring through
 Czechoslovakia a secret American
 radar system for the Soviet Union in
 exchange for the weapons Czechos-
 lovakia provided Israel.

This was also called "intelligence
 information," and it was just as accu-
 rate as the information cabled by
 Major Steven Meade from Beirut
 that Czech planes were landing every
 night in Ryak in the Bekaa Valley in
 Lebanon carrying weapons for
 Israel.

Imagination is boundless, even in
 the reports of military attaches, let
 alone in the

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No imposed solution

Responding to a charge that the Bush administration was trying to "poison the atmosphere," White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater protested, "No, that's not true, we want good relations with Israel." He undoubtedly meant it. But it would be foolish to ignore the rest of his statement: "Our overriding interest is the peace process."

There is, of course, nothing wrong with giving the peace process top priority. Like motherhood, it is an issue of uncontested merit. But there seems to be a fundamental contradiction between the Bush administration's view of the peace process and Israel's.

Israel has wanted to conduct peace talks with the Arabs ever since the state was established. It has always deemed even seemingly insurmountable differences soluble through negotiations. But Israel, believing that the root cause of the century old Arab-Israeli conflict is Arab refusal to recognize Israel's legitimacy and right to exist, also has insisted that the negotiations be direct. The very act of sitting face to face with Israeli representatives implies Arab recognition, and only an agreement reached through such negotiations can bring real conciliation and lasting peace.

On this all Israeli governments, Labor and Likud alike, have agreed. They have fiercely rejected the possibility of a forced arbitration and an imposed solution. This is not just because coercion is an insult to independence and sovereignty, nor because the terms of an imposed solution may be unpalatable, but because an agreement not reached through direct negotiations absolves the Arabs from recognizing Israel's equality and legitimacy and makes peace meaningless.

Last year, the Bush administration seemed to concur with this view, and it got the Arab side to agree to direct, bilateral negotiations. But the Arab negotiators' conduct clearly indicates that they accepted the arrangement only to circumvent it.

The Palestinian and Syrian representatives obviously have no intention of negotiating with the Israeli delegations. They refuse to define areas of agreement, reject all Israeli offers, and dismiss proposals for confidence-building measures out of hand. Believing that "the peace process" is merely a euphemism for total Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 lines – and encouraged by the administration to believe that Washington's concept is identical to theirs – they have done nothing but present ultimatums; either Israel withdraws or there is

nothing to talk about.

By stonewalling at the negotiation table and repeatedly threatening to walk out, they hope to achieve precisely what Israel cannot accept: an imposed solution. Unfortunately, the administration seems to be thinking along the same lines.

In today's world, an "imposed solution" does not mean sending the marines to surround the Knesset. Nor does it require a direct intervention in the negotiations. It simply means using all available leverage to force Israel to make concessions – not in a give-and-take with its Arab adversaries, but in response to Washington's arm-twisting – and to accept conditions it deems unacceptable.

It is only in this context that President George Bush's uncharacteristic linking of humanitarian aid to the halt in Jewish building in Judea, Samaria and Gaza can be understood; and the open-season-on-Israel mood in Washington – which inexorably conduces to hostile leaks and media pogroms – can be rationalized. Clearly, the administration has decided to impose its own version of "peace" on Israel by whatever means it deems acceptable.

Many reasons have been suggested for this singleminded anti-Israel tilt. The administration, under pressure to compensate for the less-than-complete success of Desert Storm, may want the peace process to show dramatic results before the November elections. It is possible, too, that some officials in Washington really believe they know what is good for Israel better than its elected government, and think that the only way to "save Israel from itself" is to topple the Shamir government.

But the cynical manner in which the Bush administration has permitted the sale of sophisticated arms and non-conventional technology to the Arab regimes – including Saddam Hussein's before August 1990 and Hafez Assad's now – points to a more fundamental concept. The Bush administration has obviously concluded that, as Billy Carter put it, "there is a helluva lot more Arabs than Jews," and that since the Arab markets are vast, placating the Arab world at Israel's expense is warranted.

Leaving aside the wisdom of such a conclusion, which has repeatedly proved misguided in recent history, no Israeli government will accept an American-imposed solution. And if the administration persists in pursuing it, Israel may have to decide whether it wants real peace, or "the peace process" American style. The two seem to grow more incompatible every day.

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The Iran-Syria menace

BY coincidence, the United States is in the process of threatening two Arab states with retribution. Libya has stubbornly refused to extradite two operatives charged by American intelligence with the bombing of Pan Am 103 over Scotland, and Iraq has been flouting Saddam Hussein's commitment to destroy its missiles and non-conventional weapons. In both cases, the White House has stated that it will do whatever is necessary to force compliance, and is considering all options, not excluding military action.

But the credibility of Washington's warnings is not what it was in 1990-1991. The anti-Saddam coalition no longer exists. In fact, both Egypt and Syria – the main Arab allies of the US in the coalition of those days – have declared their opposition to any action against either Libya or Iraq. And if military action is taken at all, it would have to resemble the American air raid on Libya in April 1986, not the military operations against Iraq last year.

Even a limited air strike is doubtful. Significantly, both Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney and Joint Chiefs of Staff chairman Colin Powell oppose such action. Indeed, it is difficult for Americans to see why more American lives should be risked if the effort would remove neither Saddam Hussein nor Muammar Gaddafi from power.

It is far more probable that matters will continue as they are. Saddam, who has demonstrated great skill in playing cat-and-mouse with the UN – seeming to yield to its demands when the pressures grow and then deceiving its inspectors on the ground – will probably manage to maneuver his way out of confrontation yet again. At this point he is in a "compliance mode," promising full cooperation; but it is doubtful that he will allow Iraq's non-conventional capabilities to be totally destroyed. And, with Egypt's help, Gaddafi, too, is likely to find a face-saving formula and avoid another military punishment.

As the prime victim of Middle Eastern terrorism and the main potential target of Arab weapons of mass destruction, Israel can hardly object to action – military or other – against Gaddafi and Saddam. But it is difficult to escape the impression that Washington's preoccupation with Libya and Iraq is an evasion of the main issue.

The major sponsors of terrorism today are not Iraq and Libya but Iran and Syria. Between them they control, support, finance and train most of the active terrorist groups in the Middle East. Syria specializes in terrorists with a radical orientation. Iran in those which

represent Islamic fanaticism. To strike again at Baghdad and Tripoli is to strike at the junior partners of the terrorist cartel. If anything, it would serve to stress the senior partners' immunity to punishment.

Were this immunity manifested only by the absence of censure and sanctions, it would have been damaging enough. But in fact both countries are being ardently courted not only by the West but by east Europeans and the CIS republics. (The acceptance of Iran as a mediator in the Azrbidjan-Armenia dispute over Nagorno-Karabach is only one example of Teheran's newly acquired respectability.)

It is not as if there is any question about the Iran-Syria involvement in terror. The existence of terrorist camps in those countries is known to every intelligence agency. It is also common knowledge that their governments are directly responsible for terrorist actions against Westerners – let alone Israelis – in and out of the Middle East. Their support for indigenous terrorist groups in Europe, Asia and South America is also no secret.

How effective the terrorist cartel can be was demonstrated by the bombing of the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires. This proved, all too painfully, that the obituaries of international terrorism were premature. The network undoubtedly suffered a blow when the anti-Communist governments in Eastern Europe closed down its training bases and logistic and intelligence infrastructure. But Iran and Syria have obviously managed to revive and rehabilitate it.

The Buenos Aires operation required the cooperation of support-groups in at least two countries. And it could not have been executed without the active participation of the Iranian government. The Hizbullah, whether calling itself Islamic Jihad, Party of God, Revolutionary Justice Organization or Organization of the Oppressed, is not a group of fanatics which receives aid and sympathy from Iran; it is part of the Iranian armed forces.

As the Buenos Aires bombing indicates, Iran's paramouncy in the terror business following the collapse of the Soviet empire may have increased the terrorist danger. As long as the pragmatic Soviets were running the show, they drew limits on terrorist operations. For Islamic fundamentalists and radical Middle Eastern regimes there are no such limits.

Unfortunately, the world community seems to have learned nothing from its experience with Saddam Hussein. It seems doomed to repeat with Iran and Syria the very same blunders which enabled Iraq to become a terrorist haction and an international menace.

A U U

Charles Krautham

TWO weeks ago, at the latest round of East peace talks, Sec State Baker offered a rare of the Arab side. He acc Palestinianians of "posturing," they were. After having a ground rules that called fo sion of a transitional auto gime only, the Palestinian came in demanding, in effe estinian state. Beginning with an obvious non-st Baker irritated.

Irritated, yes. But why surprised? What possible did the Palestinians have a serious offer to Israel, v er was doing all the hard on their behalf? Back in t outline of a preliminary tween Israel and the An the air: In return for an tlement freeze, the P would suspend the intifa other Arabs would sus 50-year-old economic bo rael. Why has such a bar peared from the radar

Because the adminis instead demanded that t settlements *unilaterally* for American loan gu help Israel settle Sovieti What are the Palesti asked to offer in return which is tantamount t forfeiture of any perm to the West Bank? No

The administration pointed itself ward and the Palestinianians, is n that the negotiations t their current impasse

Gran

Sheryl Val

I was sexually mother's father and the pain a caused me continue follow me no matter to forget and run fr are thick and seem

As early as I can mother's father per deviant sex acts on washed me by tell secret between us mother ever found her. Like any couldn't bear the

Time to fortify US-Israel ties

Arlen Specter

THE events of the last year have proved beyond a doubt that Israel is America's most reliable ally in the Middle East. The Gulf war provided an excellent reminder of Israel's value as an ally in a region characterized by volatile and radical regimes. It is abundantly clear, therefore, that it is time for America to strengthen the US-Israel alliance rather than disengage from it.

Over the years, Israel has demonstrated that it can enhance US military preparedness by making improvements on American weapon systems and adapting them to the climatic and geographic conditions that prevail in desert warfare. During the Gulf war, Israel was instrumental in making American fighting forces significantly more effective. For example, Israel provided its own Pioneer Unmanned Airborne Vehicles to enable US Navy and Marines to carry out target acquisition missions in Kuwait and Iraq without risking American lives.

Besides contributing its own weapon systems for Allied use, Israel offered numerous technological enhancements to US hardware, including a variety of recommendations for software changes that improved the effectiveness of the Patriot missile defense system.

Israel's greatest and perhaps most overlooked contribution was its strategic contribution. It was Israel that destroyed Iraq's Osirak nuclear reaction in June 1981. As US Defense Secretary Richard Cheney said recently: "There

were many times during the course of the build-up in the Gulf and the subsequent conflict that I gave thanks for the bold and dramatic action that had been taken [by Israel] some 10 years before."

Israel's geographic proximity to the Gulf proved to be invaluable for protecting vital American interests in the immediate wake of the Iraqi invasion. Its deterrent posture allowed the US to under-

questions about Israel's role as a reliable ally and its willingness to work with the US in regional security matters.

CULTURALLY and politically, Israel is the only nation in the Middle East that shares the same moral foundations and democratic values as the US. One reason that the relationship is so strong is that US foreign assis-

lion a year to maintain a Middle East fighting force the size of Israel's.

Clearly, the US-Israel relationship is mutually beneficial and should be enhanced. One of the best ways to do this is through joint projects. The Arrow anti-ballistic missile program is an excellent example of how both nations can benefit from close institutionalized relations.

To strengthen this alliance, I am proposing that the US Congress create an ad hoc US-Israel Strategic Cooperation Advisory Committee. Such a committee would institutionalize strategic cooperation and serve as a forum that can readily provide information to both the executive and legislative branches about US-Israel relations. It would also serve to propose specific cooperative military arrangements in the areas of positioning, intelligence exchanges, joint weapons and development projects, joint training exercises, upgrading weapon systems and many others.

Israel has proved time and again that it can be trusted in the most trying circumstances to protect vital American interests in the Middle East. In a multipolar world characterized by uncertainty, terrorism and Third World threat Israel can be relied upon to bolster US strategic capabilities.

The US-Israel relationship is special and enduring. I believe that the time has come to fortify this alliance and move forward toward a more secure and peaceful Middle East — together.

The writer is a Republican senator who represents the state of Pennsylvania.

I am proposing that the US Congress create an ad hoc committee to institutionalize strategic cooperation

take a massive and time-consuming buildup of forces that eventually drove Iraq out of Kuwait. In a time when the US is cutting back on overseas bases and forces, Israel's role as a protector and deterrent for American interests in the region has been greatly increased.

Another factor contributing to the success of Desert Storm was the coalition's adaptation and employment of proven Israeli battle tactics. The "Air-land battle" doctrine used by the allied forces grew out of the US-Israel analysis of Israel's experience in the 1973 Yom Kippur War. The lessons learned from Israel's desert-war experiences with tanks, artillery and equipment upkeep proved to be invaluable in defeating the Iraqis.

In addition, the restraint displayed by Israel in its decision not to retaliate against Iraq's 39 Scud attacks should not be underestimated. Israel sacrificed its own security for American national interests. That restraint should erase all

tance to Israel is a two-way street. Foreign aid cannot be characterized as a gift that bears no returns. For national security reasons alone, the US has a vested interest in keeping Israel economically viable and militarily strong. The facts are that a vast majority of the funds appropriated for aid to Israel directly benefit the US. Israeli foreign-aid money spent in the US translates into contracts, jobs and a stronger domestic economy.

Peter McPherson, a former administrator of the Agency for International Development, estimated that every billion dollars of aid to Israel created 60,000 to 70,000 jobs in the US. In fact, of the approximately \$3 billion in aid to Israel annually, only \$300,000 is actually spent in Israel.

American also receives defense-related benefits. Former director of US Air Force Intelligence Maj. Gen. George Keegan stated Israel is worth "five CIAs." Military experts estimate that it would cost American taxpayers over \$125 bil-

And this is called a democracy

Aryeh Newman

THE heart of democracy is an opposition dedicated to monitoring every aspect of government, including their own conduct.

policy cannot be forged between the majority in both the main parties over the foregoing issues, provided there exists a modicum of moral courage and goodwill. Why has this not been achieved?

HERE WE come to the second fact on the ground, which perhaps more than anything else gives cause for

enjoyed by members of the club. They arrogate to themselves standards more in keeping with a great power than an almost bankrupt, embattled mini-state.

When last month's snowstorm paralyzed road transport but left the state railways unaffected, did the members of the Knesset use the train to get to Jerusalem to attend to

al Insurance Institute; but its recommendations continue to be staged by a Knesset majority cut across coalition-opposition lines.

Similarly, election reform aimed at greater answerability to the electorate has made progress only in far as it relates to the premiers. The idea that Knesset members should be directly answerable to

America concludes: Israel is no longer a strategic asset

Alon Pinkas

THE issue of possible Israeli unauthorized transfer of Patriot missile technology to China has very little to do with the Patriot. It has everything to do with the eroding "strategic" relations between the US and Israel.

The Patriot gained notoriety for being conspicuous among the other allegations that surfaced and circulated in Washington concerning Israeli misdemeanors and alleged transfer of American technologies to third countries without obtaining US authorization. But it's not the transfer that the issue revolves around.

In essence, the Patriot issue is a "Polaroid snapshot of the current state of affairs between a country that first convinced and later ordained itself as a valuable strategic asset, and a superpower that at first was reconciled to the "asset" concept but is now explicitly and implicitly airing the lingering doubts it evidently had all along.

For the first time since the "reassessment" of US interests in the Middle East during the Ford-Kissinger administration in 1975, the US is not concealing its view that there exists a disparity of interests between Washington and Jerusalem on a wide array of issues. Within the context of an "America First" election year marked by concerns over domestic affairs, the US is ready to prioritize its interests. The Patriot is but a pretext, a convenient one, however unfair and uncalled-for, and a channel for expressing shifting focuses and a changing time.

Vehemently denying the allegations concerning the Patriot is a natural and necessary response. To assume that the Patriot is the focal point of friction in bilateral relations, and that the clash originated from a bunch of Israel-bashing anti-semites is an exercise in futility and total lack of understanding of the variables that make up the fabric of U.S.-Israeli relations.

The Patriot-transfer leak emanated from a certain atmosphere that will not dissipate if the allegations are found to be unsubstantiated; that is why it is doubtful whether the sources that leaked it will bother to leak the findings if the allega-

to win a Pentagon contract, Iran-
gate, the Rami Dotan affair and the
General-Electric episode's side ef-
fects — as well as the new settlement
welcoming one of Secretary Baker's
visits.

THE MERE fact that a story published in *The Washington Times*, not for the first time used as the unofficial and undiscriminating Pentagon and State Department bulletin board, warranted the dispatch of a fact-finding delegation serves as an ominous indication of the direction security relations are going. It illustrates a discernible pattern for years to come.

The Patriot missile transfer was, to begin with, the weakest link in the allegations contained in the

cluding Defense Minister Moshe Arens. It is the least likely weapons system Israel would transfer, especially to China.

Even those casting more than just derisive doubts concerning the political prudence of this government admit that as long as the missileization of the military balance is perceived to be the most significant and dangerous development in the region, giving China the Patriot's technology is sheer stupidity and absurdity.

Such an act would enable China to improve and embellish its performance or develop a better surface-to-surface missile capable of overcoming the Patriot, and eventually to sell it to other countries, perhaps Arab.

This is all the more the case when at stake are eroding security relations between a client state receiving \$1.8 billion in military aid every year.

ISRAELI OFFICIALS were quick to reject the allegation. A very senior source in the Defense Ministry called the accusations “ludicrous and nasty.” The source shares responsibility for the maintenance and promotion of the military-strategic relationship between Israel and the US. He added that the new item in the US media, that Israel may have exposed visiting Chinese delegations to the Patriot, is nothing but “a ladder to climb down from the false allegations.”

But the issue is not the continuation of military-strategic cooperation, as indicated in the visits to Israel this week of US Secretary of the Army Michael Stone and the head of the SDIO project ("Star Wars"), Ambassador Henry Cooper. These relations are perceived to be beneficial, even if their impetus is inertia rather than a convergence of interests.

The issue is much broader than that, and the findings of the US delegation are of no essential relevance aside from improving or further adversely affecting the atmosphere.

The issue is Israel's place in the agenda of the US in a changed and transformed international system. The "strategic asset" theory was valid – though not without its critics – as long as containment of Communism was the top US global objective.

When the view from post-Reagan Washington ceased to be filtered



Tacti

THE suggestion that the U.S. should give Jordan and Egypt the authority to negotiate for the contested areas has aroused a furious split between Palestinians and outside the territory. The split reveals who is really calling the shots for them in the peace

By all accounts, the ed with Yasser Arafat, the PLO's information director from Naif Hawatmeh of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. He is one of the most flexible in the PLO leadership.

Abed-Rabbo's idea of Amman on March 11 in his words, on the fact that Iraq has the right to request the West Bank and Gaza according to [the 1967] Council Resolution 242, recognizes that 242 is the basis for the talks and that the Palestinians claim to the territory of the 1967 Resolution 181 (the Partition Plan), has no basis in

Since then, the PL
partment director,
doumi, has reduced t
level of a "discussion
estine National Cour
icy committee chief
san, an outspoken
PLO's policy during
wants Egypt drawn
return of Gaza an
ment now of con
Jordan.

While it has the support of Rabbo's supporters, the opposition members have been confused and the more outspoken, including Dr. Haidar, a political scientist and opposition adviser, has been a

are found to be unsubstantiated, that is why it is doubtful whether the sources that leaked it will both- er to leak the findings if the allega- tions are refuted.

For the same reason, the admin- istration is still vacillating over whether to make the findings public or not. This is happening in an at- mosphere that was nurtured by the Pollard affair, the pay-off by two former Israeli generals to an assis- tant secretary of the Navy in order

nal. Reportedly in its classified por- tion, Israel was accused of transferring US technology to third parties, prohibited by both agree- ments and the spirit of cooperation.

The Patriot missile was originally a surface-to-air anti-aircraft missile system; its performance and effi- ciency in intercepting incoming Scud missiles during the Gulf war were critically questioned by Israeli defense and military officials, in-

munism was the ob- jective. When the view from post-Reagan Washington ceased to be filtered through the East-West prism, Israel accordingly lost its aura and impor- tance. The Gulf war, where the Pa- triot was born in battle, proved to many that perhaps Israel is a strate- gic burden on the Allied coalition, capable of acting in a way detrimen- tal to US interests.

political scientist Saeb I- gation adviser Sari seemed to find it a stim- into the debate; in re East Jerusalem daily A Faisal Husseini has a position, in an attempt the balance and avoid- tion in much the same Arafat is doing in T

ASHKELON EXCAVATIONS The Leon Levy Expedition

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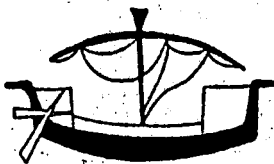
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NITZANA Terminal: 9 a.m. - 5 p.m.

TABA Terminal: no change, open 24 hours a day

02-15115

Europe Comes to Israel

at

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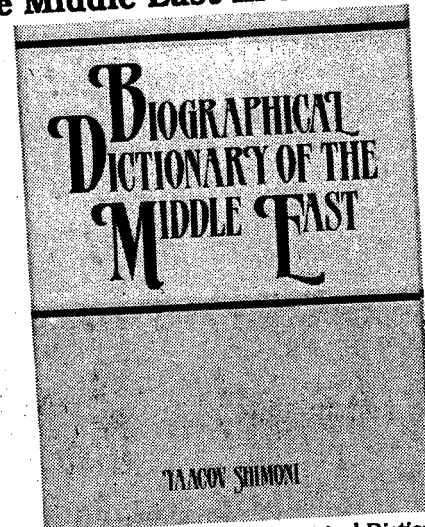


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AH SEDER

gry voters election

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nately and ubiquitously.

One new party filed its applica-
tion with the election commission
for inclusion on the ballot, but
found the office too late. The list
would have championed the causes
of high school dropouts and others
of lesser ability, and was to have
been called Duh.

Finally, no election would be
complete without at least one com-
pletely quixotic new party that has
no chance whatsoever of doing any-
thing more than making a statement
and perhaps having its voice heard.
This time around, the party is Bolt,
a Hebrew acronym for *bavlar velok-
shen traumafim*, which seeks to
provide a political action outlet for
heretofore unidentified political
pundits, informed sources, unin-
formed sources, and particularly
brain-damaged or otherwise thor-
oughly impeachable sources.

Knowing for ages how much bet-
ter they understand how to run the
country than its elected leaders - but
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hold an emergency session today to
discuss the crisis. Sources close to
circles near the somewhat square
prime minister have indicated that
Mr. Shamir is going to suggest to his
colleagues the following plan of
action:

- A ban on the entry of UJA, Bonds, Hadassah, Habad, AIC, B'nai B'rith, Order of Elks, National Association of Nochsclappers and presidents conference presiden-
tial missions to Israel;
- A ban on sending food parcels from Israel to yordim in the US;
- A request to a certain Middle East paper to revert to British spelling;
- Swamping world financial mar-
kets with shekalim to drive down the dollar.

Butcher denies alleged obscenity

ALICE JOPLIN

WASHINGTON - Secretary of
State Jake Butcher, in his first refer-
ence to allegations he used a four-
letter profanity when discussing the
American Jewish community re-
cently, dismissed the charges as a
"misunderstanding of what I said"
and insisted he had been "deliber-
ately misquoted."

"It's all really very simple," said
Butcher, his nose growing apprecia-
bly. "I was having breakfast with
our re-election committee staff, and
I noticed that I didn't have a com-
plete place setting. Everyone else
was already eating, and I noticed I
didn't have a fork."

"Then I noticed that I didn't have
any orange juice, either. I love orange
juice. That's why I keep going back to
Israel. You don't think they make a
great steak over there, do you?
"Anyway, I was a little angry, so
when a waiter walked by, I mo-
tioned towards my place setting and
said simply: 'Fork; the juice.'

Haza home for reserve army.

It has also been suggested that an
official Piscataway Liberation Orga-
nization delegation be invited to Je-
rusalem to help the peace process.
The PLO spokesman, Ha-Na Shra-
Wee (Little giggling daughter of the
long knife) declared that the delega-
tion would insist that the US accept
as an interim measure the separa-
tion of Washing and Ton and that
the latter be acknowledged as cap-
ital of Piscataway territory. Later
they would demand implementation
of their just demand for the return
of the whole District of Columbia.
The oft-stated position of the US,
as reiterated recently by Butcher to
a congressional committee, is that

ounce of love.
"Forget it," he said, adding:
"And what was it I said the other
day about the Jews?"

Military correspondent Pinhas
Aloni analyzes:

Israel has every reason to be con-
cerned over the reported sale by the
US to Japan of material supplied by
Israel exclusively for use in the US
itself.

The damage caused to this country
could be immeasurable. It would not
be many decades before the Japanese
succeed in analyzing the secret ingredi-
ents. They would then be able to
manufacture the items themselves

lower cost than is charged here.
Furthermore, Aloni further-
mored, the US is depriving its poor
Jewish community of sustenance.
This is something Israel cannot tol-
erate easily.

Our reporter somewhere in the Pa-
cific, Tomtom Oddwire, messages:
Japanese Foreign Minister Onyon
Automato declared, "The Japanese
soup industry is now bound to mush-
room if the Americans don't chicken
out after the news has leaked. It's
sure to become a hot potato."
"We appreciate that the US want
our superior automobiles, but we can-
not understand why the American
want to trade cherry trees for peas."

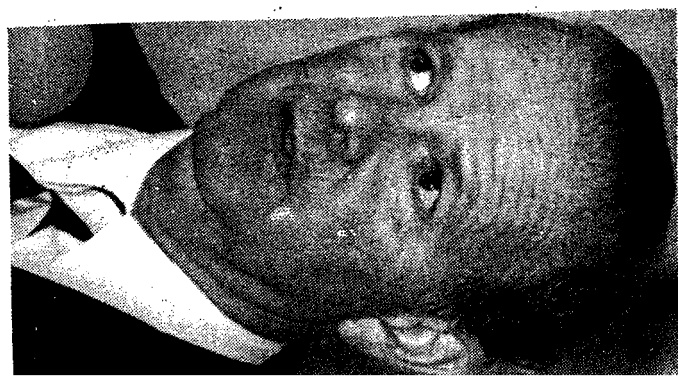
"Everyone looked up astonished,
of course, and I saw a few people
leave the room and run to phones in
the lobby.
"But I have witnesses who saw the
waiter bring me a fork and a large OJ
a few seconds later. So you see, there
was really no obscenity at all."

Asked to comment on the report,
New York Post columnist and for-
mer New York mayor Ed Koch said:
"I stick by my story. A reliable
source told me Butcher had Raisin
Bran and bananas for breakfast that
morning, and that he can't stomach
any kind of juice."



Koch's sources??

(Kellogg's)



Butcher: I never said it.

(Not Necessarily) The Jerusalem Post 3/14/92 - page 7 of 7

...ed that the
its best to
and signed a
accusing Is-

met with Commander Sandu Ma-
zor, chief of the National Serious
Crimes Division, and Defense Min-
istry legal advisers.

On 10/10/92, the Ministry of Justice
bursed the money by the end of this
month, since the first installment
covers the period through March.

The allegations were not dis-
(Continued on Page 3)

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ATTENTION

First published on February 5th 1992

All owners of *SodaStream* Family Machines Model 301/501

(see picture)

*Page 1
Jerusalem
post 3/16/92*

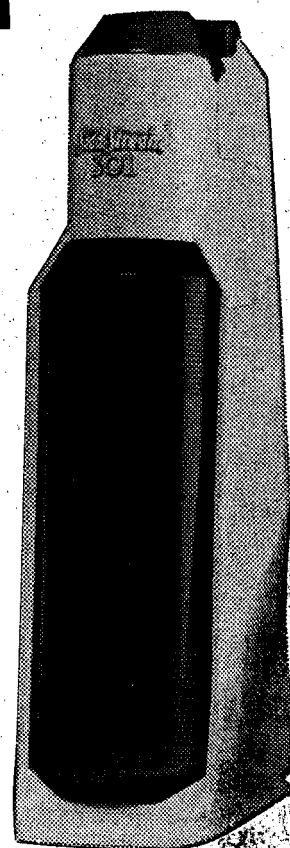
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Please stop using your Sodastream Family Machine immediately.

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